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ABSTRACT

Two studies were conducted. The first examined children's assessments of the social desirability of traits which they themselves considered to be either male-or female-stereotyped. It was found that both boys and girls preferred traits which they attributed to their own sex over traits which they attributed to the opposite sex. These findings were stronger for girls than for boys. Furthermore, girls judged traits they considered feminine to be more desirable than boys judged traits which they (boys) considered to be masculine. It was concluded that girls exceeded boys in preference for their own sex role. The second study examined teacher ratings of children whose self-concepts more or less reflected masculine vs. feminine norms. Teachers rated both academic ability and general social adjustment, including need for mental health referral. Among boys, those with more masculine self concepts were rated as inferior in adjustment and academic ability, although IQ was actually unrelated to masculinity. Among girls, masculine feminine self-concept was unrelated to teacher ratings. It was concluded that boys find themselves in conflict between sex-role consistency and teachers' expectations. (Author)

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CHILDREN'S SEX ROLES--FEMININITY HAS THE ADVANTAGE

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CHILDREN'S SEX ROLES--FEMININITY HAS THE ADVANTAGE

Psychology has a long history of assumptions that social adjustment is somehow related to the impact of sex roles. It is obvious that there would be some relationship between indicators of social adjustment and the extent to which children conform to sex role norms in their behavior and self concepts. Mental health in the sense of social adjustment refers simply to social success. Whether the adjustment is measured by the person in question or by someone else, it largely reflects a judgment concerning the extent to which the person meets the needs and expectations of others. Sex-typed traits and behaviors presumably have social value and therefore influence these judgments.

Traditional wisdom in this area was that social adjustment would be best served if children grew to identify with, adopt, and prefer the role appropriate to their own gender (e.g., Lynn, 1959). Saying that this was traditional wisdom is a clue that it is under attack. The attack has come in part from feminist concerns about possible debilitating effects on women of accepting the traditional female role. However, in this paper I want to look at some worrisome implications of the masculine sex role for young boys and for their social adjustment or social success.

The two studies I will present explore different aspects of the following argument. Boys often find themselves in conflict between what Patricia Sexton (1969, 1970) refers to as "boy culture" and what she refers to as "school culture." She argues that if a boy's self concept incorporates masculine traits, then it will be difficult for him to also incorporate those traits associated with "good" behavior as otherwise defined. Therefore, in the school setting, children whose self concepts conform strongly to the masculine role would be judged inferior in adjustment and perhaps also inferior in academic ability. Every year many more boys than girls are referred for mental health assistance (e.g., Bentzen, 1962, 1963; Bledsoe, 1961; Rosen, et al. 1964). The underlying question here is whether it may be that the relatively high frequency of referrals of boys is disproportionately accounted for by those whose self concepts conform most closely to the masculine role.

Sexton (1969) reported that, for ninth grade boys, those with high grades had self concepts which more closely conformed to feminine sex roles (as measured by the CPI). In turn, school counselors attributed more attractive personal qualities to boys with high grades than to their peers (Sexton, 1969). Although Sexton (1969) implied that counselors were systematically attributing better personal adjustment or more favorable qualities to more feminine boys, the study did not report on the direct relationship between CPI femininity and counselors' attitudes, and it did not separate the effect of academic ability from the effect of femininity on counselors' evaluations. Sexton (1969) has been the only investigator who included a measure of children's self concepts and, in particular, the extent to which the self concept reflects acceptance of sex roles.

Other studies have supported the suggestion that teachers react negatively to children who behave in ways traditionally associated with masculinity. Levitin and Chananie (1972) concluded that regardless of the child's sex, teachers more strongly approved of children who were described as behaving in ways adults associate with girls rather than boys. Other findings indicated that the rewards provided in pre-school were more appropriate to a traditional female than a male role (Fagot

& Patterson, 1969; Ellis & Peterson, 1971).

If masculinity is in fact a liability for many aspects of children's social success, then it might follow that boys would find masculinity less desirable than girls would find femininity.

Study I

SEX ROLE PREFERENCES--STRONGER AMONG GIRLS THAN BOYS

The first study focused on the question of sex-role preferences. In 1959 David Lynn pointed out that children could identify with their own sex role, adopt sex-role appropriate behaviors, but nonetheless prefer the opposite sex-role. His assumption and the standard assumption after that was that mental health is best served if children prefer their own sex role over the other.

In a rare case of convergence among theoretical positions, cognitive developmental, social learning and psychoanalytic positions all agree that children will ordinarily come to prefer their own sex role. However, all three approaches tack on an addendum. All three agree that boys will come to have stronger preferences for masculinity than girls will have for femininity. This addendum primarily reflects an assumption that in the child's experience males and maleness are highly regarded and rewarded in comparison to females and femininity. This position is the opposite of the one I proposed earlier--namely that in the child's world masculinity frequently leads to important social failures and therefore it is girls who will have the stronger sex-role preferences.

Empirical work in the area has in fact consistently been interpreted as supporting the standard position that boys' preference for their sex-role is stronger than girls'. However, this empirical work has had methodological limitations which call this conclusion into doubt. Many of these studies measured sex role preferences by using Brown's (1956a) It Scale for Children (e.g., Brown, 1957, 1958; Low, 1957). This measure involves presenting children with pictures of objects or activities, each of which has a priori been designated as masculine or feminine. Children choose those objects or activities which they think would please 'It', a gender-ambiguous child pictured on an additional card. Choices of masculine vs. feminine items are interpreted as projections of subjects' sex role preferences. Although the measure has been criticized because "It" actually appears more like a boy than a girl (Fling & Manosevitz, 1972; Kohlberg, 1966), this difficulty alone does not account for the findings of girls' weaker preferences for the items assigned to their role. Similar results were obtained when 'It' was hidden in an envelope (Ward, 1973), when 'It' was represented by a blank card, and when children chose for themselves rather than for a projective figure (Nadelman, 1974; Rabban, 1950; Stein, et al., 1971). However, a further methodological concern can be raised in regard to all of these studies. The measure of sex role preference was the extent to which children chose items which adults a priori designated as sex-typed. No one a priori definition of sex roles will match the views held by particular groups of children, since children's views of sex roles vary with their own sex (Hartley & Hardesty, 1964; Emmerich, et al., 1971) and age (Emmerich, et al., 1971; Nadelman, 1974). Therefore, when girls rejected "feminine" objects in previous research, they did not necessarily reject their sex role as they conceived of it.

A second methodological concern follows from the failure to investigate preferences for sex roles as these roles are conceived of by children. Sex role preferences might be reflected not only by the disirability attributed to sex-typed characteristics but by the characteristics assigned to one's own versus the opposite sex role. For instance, members of each sex may tend to assign more desirable characteristics to their own role. Methods used in previous research have made it impossible to tap this second possible aspect of sex role preferences.

A final methodological criticism of previous research should be noted. In this research toys figured prominently among the "masculine" or "feminine" objects from which the children chose. This is problemmatic because toys which adults designate as "masculine" are inherently more interesting and susceptible to creative usages, and therefore they may be preferred to feminine toys on that basis alone (Rosenfeld, Note 1).

Research concerning adults' sex-role preferences does not share these problems. In contrast to the child studies, adult work (e.g., Broverman, et al, 1972; Rosenkrantz, 1968) focused upon subjects' judgments of traits which they themselves, or similar persons, considered to be sex-typed, rather than upon an abritrarily imposed concept. In spite of this, this adult research led to the same conclusion--men prefer masculinity over femininity more than women prefer femininity. While this probably accurately reflects the situation among adults, still the possibility remained that if the proper method were used, the finding would be reversed among children. Again, the argument here is that children find themselves in a situation which contrasts to adults' experience. For children, as compared to adults, less preferential treatment may be accorded to males and to masculinity.

The following hypotheses were explored: (1) Boys and girls will both prefer their own sex role over the opposite sex role. (2) Girls will have stronger preferences for their own sex role than boys will have for theirs.

Method and Procedure--Study I

Sex role questionnaire

The first task was to develop a sex role questionnaire to indicate which traits children actually assigned to masculine and feminine roles. The questionnaire consisted of 46 items each of which presented a trait or activity. An example of the format is presented under "1" on your hand out. Children were instructed to mark an "X" above the statement they thought best represented the opinion of "most people." Verbal instructions stressed that the opinion of most people was requested, and the format was explained carefully with several examples. Words were defined when necessary.

The 46 traits on the questionnaire were selected from an initial pool of 75. The initial group was compiled by reference to the following: (1) sex differences in reputation and actual behavior among fourth graders (Silvern, Note 2). (2) Broverman et al.'s 1972 report of adult sex role stereotypes. (3) Literature on children's concepts of sex roles (e.g., Macoby & Jacklin, 1974). (4) Third grade reading and spelling texts, which provided a criterion of vocabulary difficulty. In order to shorten the list, the initial 75 items were presented to 36 male and 20 female seventh graders to identify characteristics likely to be viewed as sex-typed. (Since the number of traits children consider sex-typed increases with their

age, seventh graders were used in pilot work to avoid eliminating elements of the role conceptions of 'advanced' sixth graders in the main study.) Twenty-six characteristics met the following criteria (1) a $\underline{X}^2$ comparison of masculine vs. neutral vs. feminine responses was significant at $\underline{p} < .01$; (2) at least 60% of responses fell on one side of the mid-point (neutral) of the rating scale and not more than 10% of responses fell on the other side. In addition to the 26 traits which met these criteria, the final form of the questionnaire included four judged most neutral by the seventh graders and 16 more filler items which were arbitrarily selected from third grade curriculum books. The items were presented on the questionnaire in random order.

Social desirability questionnaire

Now I needed a measure which would determine the social value children attached to traits which would be identified as sex-typed on the basis of the sex-role questionnaire. The same 26 items, which had been identified during pilot work were included in a social desirability measure. They were combined with 20 new filler items.

Again, the format was developed after much pilot work. It was given with considerable verbal instruction and examples to assure that it was understood. An example of the format is presented on "2" on the hand out. Subjects were asked which "kid" they would "like best" when the kids were represented along a continuum of the trait in question. Indication of relatively great liking for the kid with the trait in question was taken as an indication that the trait was relatively socially desirable. This social desirability questionnaire was intended to provide the measure of sex role preferences. Relative preferences for a role would be determined by the average desirability children attributed to traits associated with one sex role, compared to the other role. Notice that the social desirability questionnaire focused on the desirability of traits for others, rather than for oneself. In this regard, the measure was similar to the one used by Broverman, et al.,(1972) with adults. However, measures of children's sex-role preference have often been based on children's choices for themselves, rather than for others (e.g. Nadelman, 1974; Rabban, 1950; Stein, et al., 1971). Other studies in which children have made choices for a projective figure leave a question about whether the choices reflected preferences for oneself or for others. Lynn's (1959) discussion of sex-role preferences seemed to include both preference for oneself and for others. At present we have no idea about the effect of focusing on one rather than the other in measuring sex-role preferences.

Procedure

The social desirability questionnaire and the sex-role questionnaire were given to two fourth and two sixth grade classes. The order of questionnaire presentation was balanced within grades. The school was in a lower middle and working class area.

Results--Study I

There were no grade or sex differences on the mean social desirability score, over all items. This indicated that all groups of subjects used the scale in equivalent ways. Within that context, group differences on specific items were

examined. There were grade differences on none of the items. However, there were sex differences on four items and these are listed under "3" on the hand out.

Next, it was necessary to determine whether they were age or sex differences in sex-role concepts. On the sex role questionnaire, there were grade differences on three items and these are listed under "4" on the hand out. In each case, sixth graders viewed items as being more strongly sex-typed than fourth graders did.

The important finding emerged when sex differences on the sex-role questionnaire were examined. There were significant sex differences on 18 of 26 items. These differences will be described later. For now the point is that boys and girls do differ in their views of sex roles, and therefore studies which have imposed a single criterion on both have necessarily violated the conception held by at least the members of one sex.

We've been talking about sex differences in the degree to which traits were judged to be sex-typed. It was still necessary to apply criteria to responses to the sex-role questionnaire in order to identify which traits were judged to be sex-typed by boys and by girls considered separately. Criteria were: (1) At least 60% of responses fell on one side of neutral and no more than 10% of responses fell on the other side, (2) A chi square comparison of masculine vs. neutral vs. feminine responses was significant at $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 1. (Boys and girls will both judge their own sex role more favorably than they will judge the opposite sex role.) Results are presented under "5" on the hand out. For boys and girls, considered separately, the mean social desirability of traits they judged masculine was compared with the mean social desirability of traits they judged to be feminine. For both boys and girls, the mean social desirability of their same-sex role was significantly higher than the desirability of the opposite-sex role. Notice that the results were stronger for girls than for boys ($p < .05$ vs. $p < .001$). Girls' preferences for their own role were somewhat more adamant than boys'.

In a sense, as a corollary of the first hypothesis, it was also predicted that members of each sex would judge their own role to be more desirable than the role would be judged by members of the opposite sex. The prediction was supported and the results are presented under "6" in the hand out. Boys judged traits which they judged to be masculine more favorably than girls judged traits which they, girls, judged to be masculine. Similarly, girls judged femininity more favorably than boys judged femininity. Results were stronger in regard to femininity than masculinity ($p < .05$ vs. $p < .001$).

There were two possibilities to explain the finding that boys and girls both found their role more desirable than the other role. First, possibly boys and girls differed from each other in which traits they considered most desirable, and then members of each sex attributed traits which they perceived as desirable to their own role. Second, possibly boys and girls generally agreed about the desirability of traits, and then members of each sex differentially assigned to their own role those traits which both boys and girls agreed were desirable. The second alternative was suggested by the finding, reported above, that there were significant differences on only four social desirability items but on 18 sex role items. That is, boys and girls generally agreed about which traits were desirable; they

disagreed more about the sex-typing of those traits. Post hoc analyses are reported uner "7" on the hand out. They indicated that children did, in fact, differentially attribute to their role and deny to the other sex role traits which they considered significantly more desirable than traits which they differentially denied for themselves and attributed to the other.

Hypothesis 2. (Girls will judge the traits they consider feminine to be more desirable than boys will judge the traits they consider masculine.) The hypothesis was supported. The result of the relevant t-test is reported under "8" on the hand out.

Study II

TEACHER AND PEER EVALUATIONS OF CHILDREN

WHO DIFFER IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF MASCULINE VS. FEMININE NORMS

The assumption underlying Study I on sex role preferences was that in children's experiences masculinity often meets with social failure. The second study involves a direct test of the proposition that if children's self concepts closely conform to masculine sex roles, they would more frequently fail to meet other social requirements generally associated with adjustment. Here we are dealing directly with the question of whether the high proportion of boys among child clinical referrals could be accounted for by those whose self concepts conform particularly closely to or demonstrate acceptance of masculine norms.

Hypotheses were: (1) Teachers will attribute inferior personal adjustment to boys and girls who accept the masculine role more strongly than their same-sex peers. (2) Teachers will attribute inferior academic ability to boys and girls who accept the masculine role more strongly than their same-sex peers.

In addition to these hypotheses, I wanted to examine the relationship between sex role acceptance and success with peers. In dealing with mental health in the sense of adjustment, it is critical to take into account the source of the judgments of adjustment. For instance, more masculine children may appear to be poorly adjusted, or to have little social success, when they are rated by adults, but the picture could change dramatically if peers' judgments were the focus.

Method and Procedure--Study II

Sex role acceptance

To test these hypotheses, it was necessary to have a measure of the extent to which children include within their self concept those traits which they associate with each sex role. This will be called a measure of sex role acceptance. The measure consisted of 22 forced-choice items, each consisting of two descriptive words or phrases. In each pair, one was masculine and the other was feminine sex-typed. Information concerning sex-typing was obtained from the responses to the sex role questionnaire in Study I. Traits were considered sex-typed if, in the earlier study, significantly more boys and significantly more girls had said that

the trait in question was associated with one sex role, in comparison with number who said it was associated with the other sex role or that it was neutral. The masculine and feminine traits included in each item were matched for social desirability, based on responses to the social desirability questionnaire responses from Study I.

Two forms of the questionnaire were administered to each child on separate occasions, three to eight weeks apart. The order of administration was balanced across subjects. The real form called for the child to circle the word in each pair which did a better job of describing how he or she "really is." The ideal form called for circling the better description of how he or she "wishes" to be. Scores reflected the total number of feminine items circled on each form and they will be referred to as real and ideal femininity.

A critical choice in developing the scale was the use of a forced-choice format. This format imposed a bi-polar definition of sex roles--that is, each point in the direction of increased femininity necessarily constituted a point in the direction of decreased masculinity. This approach seemed appropriate for pursuing questions concerning choices a child would make when confronted with conflicting social requirement--perhaps between boys' culture and school culture. However, future research in the area should explore the use of measures which allow masculinity and femininity to vary independently.

Teacher ratings

Ratings for each child were completed by the "home teacher" who had most contact with him or her. Ratings were done on nine Likert-type items. One item asked for the teacher's assessment of the child's academic capability. The other eight items dealt with matters of personal and social adjustment. Harman's (1967) bi-factor procedure was used to establish that six of these eight items could be meaningfully combined into a summary score of teacher's rating of general social adjustment. One of these six items asked for a rating of the degree of the child's need for mental health assistance.

Peer ratings

Peer ratings were obtained during individual sessions with each child. A "guess who" format was used to ask children to name three children in their grade who were described by each of fourteen short descriptions adapted from Rothenberg (1973). A number of steps were taken to assure the child's anonymity as they responded. A subject's scores were the number of times he or she was named by peers for each item. The bi-factor procedure was again used and a summary score of peer popularity was established.

Intelligence

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was administered during individual sessions.

Subjects

Subjects were 64 fourth and fifth graders enrolled in a middle class public school which was run in an "open space" format. (Information for precise SES classification was unavailable). Subjects were 95% Anglo and 5% Chicano.

Half of the subjects were drawn from a list of children whom teachers had designated as having "adjustment problems" and half were drawn from a list of "non-problem" children. This classification was accomplished by group discussion among the teachers for each grade who were jointly involved in frequent team teaching and therefore were each familiar with all children in the grade. Criteria for the two groups were provided by the author. An "adjustment problem" child was one whom the teachers identified as being unusually "difficult;" the teachers desired assistance in dealing with the child for reasons other than having a learning problem, or they believed the child required inordinate attention and time. The intention was not to identify any particular behavioral pattern but to assure that the subjects would include both children whom teachers were likely and unlikely to label as problemmatic. Teachers for each grade were asked to select 20 children, 10 boys and 10 girls, for both the "adjustment problem" and the "non-problem" groups. From those whose parents returned permission slips, 32 subjects were chosen from each group, so that they were evenly divided by sex and grade.

Procedure

For each child in the study the real and ideal forms of the sex role acceptance questionnaire were administered in groups from three to eight weeks apart. Considerable verbal instruction was provided to assure comprehension. The order of administration of the two forms was balanced across subjects. Near the time of the second session, the teacher ratings of social adjustment and academic ability were obtained from each child's home teacher. There were four fifth grade teachers and four fourth grade teachers. On one, a fourth grade teacher, was male.

Results--Study II

Measurement of sex role acceptance

Girls were higher than boys in real femininity ($t = 4.50$, $df = 58$, $p < .001$, two-tail) and ideal femininity ($t = 4.37$, $df = 58$, $p < .001$, two-tail).[3] Comparisons were made between boys' and girls' responses to each item. Items were dropped from the total score used in further analyses if they did not differentiate between boys and girls ($p < .10$). Seven items were eliminated from the real form and three items from the ideal form.

Some children moved away or began extended absences before the second administration of the questionnaire. On the real and the ideal questionnaire forms, scores were missing for one fourth grade girl, one fourth grade boy, and two fifth grade girls. Although the numbers happened to be the same on the two forms, it was different children who were missing on each.

T-tests revealed that mean real and ideal femininity did not differ depending on the order of administration of the two questionnaire forms. Therefore, data were combined regardless of administration order.

Hypothesis 1. (Teacher's rating of adjustment and sex role acceptance.)

This hypothesis was investigated in two ways. Subjects from the "problem"

and the "no problem" lists were compared on sex role acceptance scores. In addition, sex role acceptance was correlated with the summary score of teacher's rating of social adjustment. The resulting conclusions were very similar, and for the sake of brevity only the correlational analyses are reported here.

The findings are reported uner "1" for Study II on your hand out. Looking at the results for boys, among fifth graders results generally supported the hypothesis. For fourth grade boys, there appeared to be a difference between results when the ratings were done by the one male teacher. There were eight fourth grade boys who were rated by women teachers. Taking Siegel's (1956) word for it that a Kendall rank order correlation coefficient is meaningful with this N, real femininity was positively related to adjustment for these fourth grade boys, just as it was among fifth graders. In contrast, when the one male teacher's adjustment ratings were considered, the results were not significant. The relationship between femininity and adjustment remained essentially unchanged when IQ was partialled out.

For girls, teacher ratings were unrelated to sex role acceptance.

Hypothesis 2. (Academic ability and femininity)

The results are presented under "2" on the hand out. The results were similar to those for Hypothesis 1. Again, for girls there were no significant relationships between teacher ratings and sex role acceptance. For boys, women teachers' ratings of academic ability were superior for those who were higher in femininity. The correlation between femininity and ratings of academic ability was repeated, this time with the boys' actual IQ partialled out. The relationship was virtually unchanged. Ratings made by the one male teacher were unrelated to femininity.

Peer popularity and femininity

Results are reported on "3" on the hand out. For boys there were significant grade differences. Among fifth graders, more feminine boys were the more popular, while among fourth graders the reverse was true. This grade difference did not reflect a true developmentally based change. Within each grade chronological age and mental age were partialled out, and the resulting partial correlations between popularity and femininity did not differ significantly from the original correlations.

For girls, femininity was unrelated to peer popularity just as it was unrelated to teacher ratings.

Discussion--Study II

Female teachers attributed inferior academic ability and general adjustment to the more masculine boys. They indicated that the more masculine boys had a greater need for mental health assistance. The unexpected finding concerned the need to distinguish ratings made by the one male teacher from the rest. This teacher did not attribute inferior qualities to the more masculine boys.

At present, it is impossible to conclude that the difference among teachers

was due to their gender per se rather than to other individual differences. The results did suggest that in future research on the effects of children's sex role on adjustment, the gender of persons making the judgments of adjustment should be systematically investigated. Even if teachers' gender reliably predicted their reaction to children's sex role acceptance, this would still leave open the question of what actually accounted for the effect. For instance, certain attitudes toward sex roles could be related to teachers' own gender and influence the ways they would respond to a rating form. Alternatively, more masculine boys may behave differently in the presence of male versus female teachers, whatever the teachers' attitudes. The situation revealed in this study--that boys may be given inferior labels on the basis of their acceptance of masculine norms--this situation is clearly one which calls for intervention. Planning for intervention would be aided by an understanding of the relevant individual differences among teachers.

The sharp grade difference in regard to peers' ratings was another notable finding. Among fifth graders it was the more masculine boys who were more popular, while the reverse was true in the fourth grade. Findings indicated the need to exercise caution in regard to an assumption made by Sexton (1969) that more masculine boys would be more acceptable to their peers. However, the explanation for this grade difference was not evident. An explanation in terms of true developmental differences was ruled out. An alternative explanation is that the presence of a male teacher without negative attitudes toward masculinity influenced fourth graders' to adopt the positive attitudes toward masculinity which are dominant in adult culture, while fifth graders accepted the rejection of masculinity demonstrated uniformly by their teachers.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Results for both studies are consistent with the argument that frequently school boys are in a conflict between on the one hand masculine norms, as children conceive of them, and on the other hand at least female adults' requirements for adjustment. Boys had weaker preferences than girls for their own sex role and teachers judged that more masculine boys were generally inferior in social adjustment. Although setting differences could be expected to be crucial, as they effect sex role and adjustment norms, it should be noted that the two studies reported here were done in very different populations. The picture which emerged is very different than the one the literature reveals for adults. Women's sex role preferences are weaker than men's (Broverman, et al., 1972) and both men and women consider themselves better adjusted if they incorporate many rather than fewer aspects of masculinity in their self concepts (Ryan, et al., Note 3). Matina Horner has suggested that adult women find themselves in a conflict between the demands of sex role consistency, on the one hand, and on the other hand the demands of adjustment as otherwise defined. It appears that in adult life it is more often women and in childhood it is more often the boys who find themselves in a double-bind, no-win situation. It is interesting to note that during development there is a shift, so that during childhood males make up a disproportionate number of all mental health referrals while in adult life that dubious honor falls to women (Chesler, 1973).

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STUDY I

CHILDRENS' SEX ROLE PREFERENCES:

STRONGER AMONG GIRLS THAN BOYS

1. Example of format for sex role questionnaire

Weak

Most people think:

Boys are much weaker than girls	boys are a little weaker than girls	there is no difference between boys and girls	girls are a little weaker than boys	girls are much weaker than boys

(Mark an "X" over the statement you believe)

2. Example of format for social desirability questionnaire

This is the child I like best

Most quiet Least quiet

(Circle one)

3. Sex differences on specific items from the social desirability scale.

obedient - girls rated social desirability higher than boys did
($\chi^2 = 11.9$, df = 4, $p < .02$)*

gentle - girls rated social desirability higher than boys did
($\chi^2 = 12.5$, df = 4, $p < .01$)*

rough - boys rated social desirability higher than girls did
($\chi^2 = 11.6$, df = 4, $p < .02$)*

brave - boys rated social desirability higher than girls did
($\chi^2 = 12.5$, df = 4, $p < .01$)*

* Chi-squares reported here reflect 2 subject groups (male and female) x 5 response categories.

[1] Copies of the paper presented at WPA, 1976, may be obtained from the author, Psychology Department, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80309.

4. Grade differences on specific items from the sex role questionnaire.

   Sixth graders rated the following items as more strongly sex-typed than 4th graders did.

   sweet - ($\chi^2 = 9.52$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$) -- feminine-typed

   gentle - ($\chi^2 = 9.47$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$) -- feminine-typed

   graceful - ($\chi^2 = 9.50$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$) -- feminine-typed

5. Hypothesis #1. Boys and girls will both judge traits they assign to their own sex role to be more desirable than the traits they assign to the opposite sex role.

   Boys: $\bar{x}$ social desirability of masculine-typed traits vs. $\bar{x}$ social desirability of feminine-typed traits ($t = 2.24$, $df = 36$, $p < .05$)

   Girls: $\bar{x}$ social desirability of feminine-typed traits vs. $\bar{x}$ social desirability of masculine-typed traits. ($t = 8.31$, $df = 35$, $p < .001$)

6. Hypothesis #1A. Members of each sex will judge their own role to be more desirable than that role will be judged by members of the opposite sex.

   Masculine-typed traits: $\bar{x}$ social desirability of boys' ratings vs. girls' ratings ($t = 2.65$, $df = 35$, $p < .05$)

   Feminine-typed traits: $\bar{x}$ social desirability of girls' ratings vs. boys' ratings ($t = 6.90$, $df = 35$, $p < .001$)

7. Post hoc analyses to clarify the source of Ss' preferences for their own sex role.

   a. Sex role questionnaire items on which there were significant sex differences were divided into 2 groups:

      (1) accepted items - Members of one sex claimed the trait for its own role significantly more often or 'strongly' than the opposite-sex members attributed it to them.

      (2) rejected items - Members of one sex attributed the role to the opposite sex more strongly than members of the opposite sex accepted it.

   b. $\bar{x}$ social desirability for these 2 groups of items were calculated and compared.

      Accepted traits were higher in mean social desirability than rejected traits. ($t = 5.65$, $df = 73$, $p < .001$)

      (Results were unaffected by grade, sex or order of questionnaire presentation.)

8. Hypothesis 2. Girls will judge the traits they consider feminine to be more desirable than boys will judge the traits they consider masculine.

   $t = 7.31$, $df = 35$, $p < .001$

STUDY II

TEACHER AND PEER EVALUATIONS OF CHILDREN WHO DIFFER IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF MASCULINE VS. FEMININE NORMS

1. Hypothesis #1. Teachers will attribute inferior personal adjustment to boys and girls who accept the masculine sex role more strongly than their same-sex peers.

	Correlation* of teachers' ratings of general adjustment with:	
	real femininity	ideal femininity
Boys		
5th grade	$r = .28$, $N = 16$, $p < .07$	$r = .35$, $N = 16$, $p < .03$
4th grade	n.s.	n.s.
4th graders rated by women teachers	$r = .49$, $N = 8$, $p < .04$	n.s.
4th graders rated by male teacher	n.s.	n.s.
4th & 5th graders rated by women teachers	$r = .30$, $N = 24$, $p < .02$	$r = .22$, $N = 24$, $p < .06$

* Correlations are Kendall rank order coefficients. All results for girls were non-significant. Results were unchanged when IQ was partialled out.

2. Hypothesis #2. Teachers will attribute inferior academic ability to boys and girls who accept the masculine sex role more strongly than their same-sex peers.

	Correlations of teachers' ratings of academic ability with:	
	real femininity	ideal femininity
Boys		
5th grade	$r = .38$, $N = 16$, $p < .02$	n.s.
4th & 5th graders rated by women teachers	$r = .28$, $N = 24$, $p < .03$	n.s.
4th graders rated by male teacher	n.s.	n.s.

3. Relationship between peer ratings of popularity and femininity.

	Correlations* of popularity with	
	real femininity	ideal femininity
Boys		
5th grade	.29, $N = 16$, $p < .06$ (n.s.)	.53, $N = 16$, $p < .004$
4th grade	- .51, $N = 15$, $p < .006$	-.34, $N = 15$, $p < .05$

* Kendall rank order coefficients. Positive correlation indicates that popular children are more feminine. Negative correlation indicates that popular children are more masculine.

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